1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

In such cases the doctor's friends, recognizing his guilt, made no attempt to avenge his death. Sometimes when a shaman had poisoned several persons, four or five Washo would get together and say, "We have got to kill him, or you and I'll be poisoned." Dave dictated the following relevant sentences in Washo:

[539] The doctor is mad. He tries to poison us all, it seems to us. That's the way he used to do in the old days. A Washo doctor always tried to injure his own people in the old days.

Sometimes another shaman finds out about the poisoning, and then the victim's father may get one of his other sons to kill the sorcerer. "This is the old Washo way," said Dave.

Notwithstanding the benevolence Dave ascribed to a doctor (p. 318), he made it clear that the same man who cured by suction might at another time poison a man he hated. This was not like white people's poisoning. The sorcerer merely took a bath in the cool of the early morning on four successive days and talked to himself. When ready, he would get within possibly five hundred yards of his victim. Then he would rub some stuff into the palm of his hand till it became invisible. He also took some fine sand and stepped on it with his left foot. His victim would fall sick, and within two days the heart would be knocked out of him without any one's suspecting the cause, so that he would die. This happened about seventy years ago (Dave *loq.* 1926) to two white men who had refused to give a doctor bread. Some doctors used a different procedure, picking up dust and scattering it toward their enemy with their hands.

Shamanistic power was not confined to causing and curing disease, but also involved various forms of wonderworking. The method of luring antelope into a pound (p. 325) was conveyed in a dream, and so was ability to withstand bullets. About the latter Dave had heard his brother tell the following story:

[224] One Washo Indian dreamt about bullets and guns. He called together some of his relatives. "I want to show you my dreams. I've been dreaming four years now. I thought it left me, but still I am dreaming. I'll see whether I dream right or not." To the boys he said, "Sit down." He took five round bullets, dug a little hole in the ground, and made fine dust. He put the bullets into the hole. "Watch." The biggest boy was about thirteen or fourteen. "See if the bullets melt down." The dreamer took four smokes—of cigarettes of Indian tobacco. When he lit the last one, he said, "Look at the bullet, see what is going to happen." The bullets had all melted; they cooled down flat. He picked them up. "That's the way I dreamt. I dreamt right. I dreamt about bullets and powder."

He did the same way with powder. He got half a teaspoonful of powder and put it into the hole. He rolled tobacco in four pieces and smoked. After the last one, he told the others present to watch. "See what the powder will turn into; I dreamt it would be water." It melted down to water. "I dreamt right, I'll do something else after a while."

He loaded a gun and told an old man to shoot him. "I dare not; perhaps I'll kill you." "Try it; I dreamt I'd never get shot, the gun would never go off." He cocked the hammer and got it ready. "See if you can shoot me with the gun. I put my mind on it." The old man asked the dreamer's son, "Shall we kill your father?" "Well, try; maybe the bullets don't go to him. Maybe his dream is right; we'll find out." The man pointed the gun at the dreamer's heart. He tried to pull the trigger. "Pull as hard as you can." It stuck. "I can't make it go off." The dreamer said, "Let me try the gun." "The trigger does not work." He pointed it at a stick and discharged it. "That's the way I dreamt about this gun."

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

789
539
787
791

Soon he did something else. He took a long, strong line and made one man hold either end and tighten it. He put a bullet on the string. "See if the bullet doesn't work the way I dreamt. If it doesn't go across the string, don't believe in my dreams. Now watch; it'll go quickly." He put it on the string; it went across as if on a level table, and came back again.

All his friends said, "It works as he dreamt; he dreamt right." He dreamt about three things—bullets, powder, and the gun. No one could make the gun go off except himself. He wanted to try another way. He put down a piece of iron. All looked at it. "Watch it; see if it moves by itself, without anyone's handling it." The iron was the length of a pencil and about two inches thick. "I am ready now." The iron stood up on one end by itself. They said, "You dreamt right."

791

This happened about 45 years ago (Dave *loq.* 1926). The old man put everything he dreamt into his house. It burned up. Thereafter he had no more power and could not dream of anything any more. This dreamer was not a doctor. He was a homely old man.

789
171
791

Strangely enough, neither Dave nor Bill had heard of any *arrow*-proof Washo, but Bill told such a tale about a "Paiute" from Schurz, Nevada, which happened before any whites were there. This Paiute said, "Nobody can kill me by shooting, I am tough." He had something hard and circular all about his body, but no one knew what it was. People would shoot at him, but their arrows merely glanced off. The shaman would sit down and sing, "Some of you think I am not tough, but I am pretty tough." Among the spectators were some Washo, who also tried to shoot the man, but failed. One of them said, "Don't talk so loud; he has something hidden there; I have seen it." He told his brother, "If you want to shoot him, aim straight in the middle." Then the speaker's brother did so, and his arrow entered the body of the shaman, who vainly tried to pull it out, shook and sang, but died on the spot. All the Paiute were angry, and a brother of the slain shaman killed one Washo; the rest ran away.

787
789
648
791

Dave mentioned a wonderworker whose power explicitly did not come from dreams but was evidently reckoned equivalent. During a fight with the poorly clad Digger Indians, the Washo asked, "Have any of you a dream of a cold north wind?" One of them answered, "I have no dream, but I'll try to make one. I'll shout and smoke tobacco to make it come." He got on a big rock, and shouted three times, "Come, wind, we want the coldest night, we are fighting the Digger Indians and want to destroy them." Soon the wind came with dust. "Look at the wind coming," said the Indians. There was a big fire under the rock. Soon the Digger Indians followed a track, and two or three went into a badger hole to get warm. They died there. The water froze into ice an inch thick. All the enemy froze to death.

791

Rupert, the sophisticated young Washo referred to on page 304, was a mystic credited with shamanistic ambitions (in 1926). He spoke of one Monkey Peter, whom I was unable to meet, as a "philosopher." Rupert said he had seen a man with "mental power" step on fire without being hurt; and he had heard of a woman who had walked up the perpendicular side of a cliff.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

Ceremonialism

Sweat Lodge

515 Dave said the Washo never sweated, but he had seen the Paviotso of Pyramid Lake sweating by pouring water on rocks,—in order to reduce their fat, a friend from there had told Dave. Notwithstanding this denial, sweating (tito'etu'ive) was a Washo practice, though of peculiar type and restricted to one special occasion. Sometimes a man who had been hunting deer in vain would build a small booth, make a charcoal fire there, enter, and sweat. No rocks were heated, and there was no attempt to produce vapor. After sweating, the hunter went to the river and took a swim. On the following day he would see a deer. The booth was called pəbə"taiy t'a'ya, little house; whether this is a specific name for the institution, is not clear. Bill gave another term, a'yalita kumto'ea.

Bill, whose father had sweated as a deer hunter, said that before jumping into the creek the sweater put medicine on his head and rubbed it into his hair.

My information thus contradicts Kroeber's,[113] who records—though as a probably recent intrusion—the Plains Indian type of skin- or mat-covered booth heated by steam.

Antelope Charming

624 The Antelope chief (al'yas kumomli") was distinct from the tribal chief and the leaders of the deer hunt and jack-rabbit hunt, respectively. He alone got his power by dreaming, that is, was a shaman (Dave). No Antelope chief was living in 1926, so the following statement refers wholly to the past. Jack had seen one Antelope chief, but even in his youth antelope had become scarce.

The Antelope chief sees some antelope in a dream. He reflects about it and goes to the place dreamt about in the mountains. He sees two or three head, then he knows his dream is true. He begins to talk to them. He does not tell anyone as yet, but keeps his own counsel and studies the matter himself. He continues dreaming three or four times. Then he begins talking to the antelope, taking a pipe. He wants to see what he can do. He looks at the antelope, he lets them see him walking alongside of them; they do not run away. He does this two or three times. Soon he tells the people to come together and says, "My people, I have dreamt truly or falsely, I don't know which. In the place I dreamt of last night there were forty antelope banded together. If I dreamt truly, you'll see them there this morning." He sends two boys to the place as scouts. They look for game and see ten or fifteen head feeding there together. The boys do not let the antelope see them. They go back and tell the chief, "Your dream is true, we saw a herd right there." That evening he studies the matter again while in bed. He dreams again and tells his people, "Well, I dreamt last night, I dreamt right before. I dreamt of two antelope last night, you fellows drove them into the corral, we all killed them and had something to eat." The old people answer: "Yes, if you dreamt right, we'll have meat, we'll try tomorrow to go after them."

[113] Kroeber, Handbook, 572.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

V. MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

788

A person who sneezed (sneeze, tiha'p'i'ca) was addressed by the formula: "laiyuya ecuke's! mi'k'ey ka' kumi'ya!" ("Do not call me names! Call yourself names!")

838

Jack had never heard of any man who dressed in a woman's clothing.

821

Once an Indian saw a rainbow (t'a''umatapa''li) and pointed at it, saying, "Look, what is that?" His finger got sore and he lost it. Other Indians warned children against pointing at the rainbow: "Whenever you see him, don't talk to him, don't point, that's a bad thing. Never make fun of that one at all."

825

824

A Washo once was bitten by a snake and got a scar. He looked at the pine nuts before they were ripe, so all the fruits were killed by the sun. Because he had been bitten by a snake and then walked by the pine nuts before they were mature, they all dried up. The Washo all blamed him for this.

825 [224] [262]

Old people would warn their children against walking too close to a grizzly (t'a''ba): "He may smell, chase, catch, and eat you." Grizzlies were surrounded, one brave man approaching them. They were not eaten, but cinnamon bears were.

23 [262] [224]

The Washo call dogs by saying, "diku'cu, diku'cu" (my dog). They did not have many dogs and did not eat them, being afraid of getting sick thereby. Dogs were used in hunting squirrels, also because their barking at night gave an alarm.

763

On the top of De.omule'lek mountain there was always a fire when people were about to die. One Indian saw it and wondered what made the fire, so he set out to find a track, but there was no track and he found nothing (Dave).

776

Four or five miles from Greenbrook there is a big cave, and a wild man lived there before the whites were here. He had a big belt and his name was Peta'i'ltsi tekme'liwi (Dave).

821

789

276

When there is a storm, a Washo would sometimes smoke and say to it, "You had better stop; if not, I'll be dead." Then sometimes it stopped.

One star (evening star?) is said to be a rabbit hunter.

821

Someone lives in the moon, and according to Bill's father the spots are mountains and trees.

825

Mosquitoes (tamuk'ai'k'ai) come from the bottom of the water.

752

Wild parsnip is the only Washo remedy against snake bite (Bill). It was dug up, dried, mixed with water, then rubbed all over.

776

Sometimes Indians see a water baby by a spring, with the hair flowing 'way down.

Once the sun did not show up for two days. The Indians were dark and cool, they could not see how to get home. Some bundled up dry willow and all cried. "If there is no more sun, there will be nothing to eat," they thought.

755

825

A horned toad is caught by a doctor and stuck on a rheumatic patient's leg. It gets full of blood, pukes, and dies. It is called "doctor lizard."

276

A doctor made a pipe of black stone, like other people's, with a six-inch-long

756 778 his wife to accompany him and when she saw him begin to sink into the water she screamed with fear. The rock stopped sinking with Mike only knee deep in the water. Since that time no one has attempted to enter the room. This promontory is the center of Water Baby habitation and is reported to be the upper end of a tunnel which extends under the mountains to Genoa so that Water Babies can move freely from the lake to the valley. The rock also marks the eastern end of a road of white sand reported to cross the lake bottom. On the northwest end of the road was located a bed of plants, probably wild parsnips, which [278] doctors gathered for medicine. The wild parsnip was [752] poisonous but doctors ate it to demonstrate their power. They also chewed it into a paste and spread it on rattlesnake bites.

Another spot familiar to doctors was a mysterious hole in the mountains near Blue Lake. The hole could be located by following a spiraling path of white quartz toward the center. According to the Washo tale, if a man dropped even as much as a hair into this hole it made a great roaring sound. Suzie Dick, a Washo woman, whose claim of being one hundred years' old is borne out by white residents, insists that as a fifteen-year-old girl she went to see this hole and was terrorized by a huge hand which reached up out of the darkness and tried to seize her.

[412] Vaguely known to most Washo but familiar to doctors was a cave situated south and west of Gardnerville where ready-made grinding stones were to be found. These, depending on the informant, were made by old Indians or were put there by "nature" for the use of the Washo.

MOBCURATIVE USE OF POWER

(2567-2593)

756 789 Indian doctors often used their power in spectacular displays, apparently to impress patients. Often these displays were competitive.

In the words of one informant: "Them old doctors used to see who had the most power. They'd stick four or five sticks in the ground, each one farther away than the last one, and see how many they could knock down." Then, disconcertingly, he added: "You can read about that in Kroeber. He tells about some other Indians who did that but I guess he didn't know the [114] Washo did it too." This informant considered Professor Kroeber as an authority second only to himself in matters pertaining to Indians.

DIVINING AND RAINMAKING

(2553-2556, 2566)

821 791 789 There were no doctors with rainmaking power among the Washo. However, anyone, particularly a man deemed to be a leader, might encourage rain during the summer. The rite, which is still observed occasionally by [756] individuals, consists of soaking a pine-nut cone in water and placing it on the ground in the pine-nut hills. Modern Washo look upon this more as a prayer, but in the past it may have been considered as a spell.

The ancient matriarch Suzie Dick steadfastly insists that less rain falls in the Carson Valley than in neighboring valleys because "nobody is talking to God anymore around here." While she talked she pointed to the clouds hanging over Washo and Antelope valleys and to

[P.391, B]

791 the cloudless sky overhead.

● 789 Older white residents speak of Indian rainmakers, which is a source of much amusement among the Washo.
821 Until a few years ago an Indian, who still lives in
Dresslerville, used to take advantage of the gullibility
[648] or generosity of white ranchers by performing "rain dances" on their property in return for handouts of food. The Washo generally frowned on this, but because white men were the victims of the fraud it was considered harmless.

The father of the false rainmaker was a diviner of stolen articles. His method was to sit and smoke until the location of the desired article was revealed to him.

OBJECTS OF POWER

237 Eagle and magpie feathers were considered to be
778 the most powerful items of a shaman's paraphernalia.
Doctors are reported to have captured eagles and even
[231] to have tried to raise them to obtain feathers (233-231)
[437] The tall feathers were the most prized. Eagle feathers were extremely valuable and could be traded for anything including "a woman or a sack of pine-nut flour or anything worth a lot." Ideally the eagle was tied up until the shaman removed three tail feathers. The doctor then tied a string of beads to the bird's leg and released it as a messenger to the spirits. Description of eagle-down costumes suggest that birds were stripped of many more feathers than the ideal three. In historic
[234] times individuals have attempted to contain eagles. One old man in Woodfords is well known for having kept them on cradle-boards for easy transport, but such experiments usually ended in failure. Magpie feathers were considered less powerful than eagle feathers but still were highly prized. Today they are gathered by chance--taken from dead birds on the highway or picked up where they were shed.

237 In the past, eagle and magpie feathers were impor-
291 tant parts of the dress of warriors. Magpie feathers
778 were used to make a feather cap with a single feather suspended from the top. Informants recall their elders' describing eagle feathers' being suspended individually from the upper arms and thighs of particularly powerful warriors.

795 Modern peyotists have lost none of the traditional
237 Washo feeling about these feathers. The ceremonial
778 fans of road chiefs, believed the only persons capable of handling the immense power, are made of eagle feathers. Other peyotists favor the less powerful but nonetheless potent magpie feather (d'Azevedo and Merriam 1957).

778 Tobacco, as the foregoing accounts illustrate, played
276 an important part in Washo shamanism. It appears to have been used as an offering to the spirits. In addition it is clear that it was felt to have special power
[756] of its own. Today older men smoke sparingly and are
[782] often somewhat embarrassed to be offered a cigarette casually during conversation. In prewhite times the tobacco was a native variety gathered and dried by the shaman. Today Bull Durham appears to have replaced the wild variety as "Indian" tobacco. The Indians seemed delighted to see me rolling a cigarette; they acted as if I were mastering what they felt was a particularly
[795] Indian art. Bull Durham is also important in peyote ceremonialism because it is "real Indian tobacco."

824 Incense cedar plays an important role in modern
795 peyote meetings. It is dried and thrown into the fire
778 to create a fragment smoke which is considered bene-

[P.372, 8]

754 killings reported among these people could probably be attributed to revenge for, or prevention of, antisocial use of power.

One woman, now dead, was described as probably a witch. The wife of the dinner mentioned earlier was considered a powerful and dangerous woman. She was [527] useful to the community because she knew prayers and songs for the pine-nut celebration, but dangerous, particularly if she met you at night. One informant describes the attitude of the rest of the community toward her.

> "She used to come around at night and knock on your door and say she was lost. She came here one night and pounded on the door with her cane but we wouldn't let her in. After she went away my husband ● [789] rolled up a newspaper and set it on fire and ran it along the inside of the door where she had knocked. I don't know why he did that except we was afraid of her."

Stewart also reports this attitude toward the same woman (1941, p. 444; 1942).

The woman who told me this story is herself under the shadow of indictment for witchcraft. Curiously enough the same phrase, "I am afraid of her," serves as an accusation. She and her sister-in-law quarreled [607] over the disposal of her husband's body two years ago. Since that time they have not spoken, and the sister-in-law has been proclaiming her fear.

WAR POWER

724 The Washo have not engaged in real hostilities with the Miwok or Maidu for well over a century and Paiute hostilities appear to have taken the form of occasional defensive skirmishes; thus the details of war magic are vague. However, Washo tradition repeatedly mentions a month-long period during which doctors gathered and made medicine against the enemy before [754] launching a campaign. Usually this took place at Woodfords, which was the site of a large earth lodge dance [344] house copied after Miwok structures and described as [177] "where the young men learned them Miwok dances." [535] (A second dance house is known to have existed in Sierra Valley, attributed to the Maidu. It fell into disuse after the death of its owner.)

SUMMARY OF SHAMANISM

756 182 Although there appears to be only a single practicing shaman among the Washo today (and he certainly not a practitioner of the old school), it would be a mistake, in my opinion, to claim that Washo shamanism is a thing of the past. Few, if any, Washo over forty have not attended a shamanistic curing ceremony and many have been patients. Even those Indians who have rejected shamanism as old fashioned—or in deference to white attitudes—give one the impression of "protesting too much" in their denial of old beliefs. The woman who took her granddaughter to Rupert, the curer, is among the most progressive of the Washo. [177] She is a nominal Christian, active in an informal way as a representative of her people before white authority, and is most apt to deny supernatural explanations of historic incidents. Nonetheless she has faith in the power of this modern shaman and in the cures reported for the old-time shamans.

[P.395, A]

RITUAL ACTIVITIES

971 Few, if any, Washo activities do not contain an element which we can describe as religious, supernatural, or magical. This element is most commonly revealed by specifically ritualized behavior carried on while a regular course of action is being taken by a Washo. The following sections will deal with this ritualized behavior and the rationale for it offered by the Washo.

CONCEPTION AND CONTRACEPTION

842 Apparently the Washo have no specific ritual to encourage conception. They are extremely fond of children and desire as many as possible. No Washo has ever heard of, or will admit having heard of, infanticide among the Washo, although they have heard of [847] [848] the practice among other Indians. The birth of an illegitimate child, despite the attitude of whites, is greeted with as much joy as that of a legitimate child.

842 However, it is believed that conception can be pre-
789 vented by manipulation of the afterbirth. When the afterbirth is expelled it is wrapped in a piece of deer hide or cloth and buried. It is always placed right side up if a woman desires to continue bearing children. If she wishes not to have children it is buried upside down. If at a later time she wishes to become pregnant, she will turn the earth where the upside-down [178] afterbirth was buried. Informants say that not many people do this any more, mainly because younger women go to the hospital to have their babies, but that many people know how and some may still do it.

842 Certain Indians are reported to be able to prevent
754 the birth of children without the knowledge of the woman concerned. This requires the cooperation of a woman who has just had a child and who will give the magician the afterbirth. It is then buried or hidden upside down and the woman concerned will not become pregnant. The method of transferring the influence of the afterbirth from the real mother to the victim was not explained, and in fact the practice was revealed with a good deal of reluctance.

BIRTH
(3178-2203)

844 Informants report that the baby was not touched, either by the mother or her attendants, until the afterbirth was expelled. The birth and recuperation were [845] carried out in a pit filled with warm ashes. A slow [843] birth was blamed on the belief that the mother had slept too much or been lazy during her pregnancy.

The mother was not allowed to eat salt until the [263] baby's umbilicus dropped off, usually in two or three [856] days. The umbilicus was dried and hung on the right side of the cradleboard to insure that the baby would be right-handed.

846 The baby's hair was cut about thirty days after its [262] birth. Until that time the mother was not permitted to [302] eat meat or to leave her bed of ashes. However, one [178] of my informants who had borne eight children claimed never to have spent more than two weeks in her lying-in bed. She did insist that "in the old days" women adhered to the traditional thirty-day period.

[P.379, A]

RITUAL IN SUBSISTENCE

224 222 789 Hunting, far more than gathering, appears to have been the focus of much ritual activity. This suggests that for the Washo the importance of ritual may have increased in proportion to the element of chance inherent in the activity undertaken. Gathering was a surety, assuming of course that there was a harvest to gather. With the wide variety of plants available within the Washo territory during the spring, summer, and fall it seems highly unlikely that the failure of one species of plant created a serious problem. This, [731] of course, was not true of the pine nut. A failure of the pine-nut crop was a harbinger of a starvation winter. The gathering of pine nuts, in contrast to the gathering of other plants, was the subject of a great deal of ritual and, in some degree, of ceremonialism uncommon to most Washo gathering activities. This will be dealt with later in the paper.

HUNTING

224 Deer (1-27) – Deer were hunted in a number of ways. Barrett reports, and old informants confirm, that hunting parties of as many as thirty or forty men were formed in the old days to go to the western [648] slope of the Sierra in pursuit of deer. The large number may have been necessitated by the possibility of meeting hostile Miwok or Maidu. My own informants claimed that these large parties often set fire to the forest to drive the deer into the open, and that the large number of men was needed to cover the escape routes.

More common, apparently, were small groups of five or six men, usually relatives, who went into the deer country together. Their technique was to drive [177] along a single deer run toward one of their number who was considered the best shot. This method was very common after the introduction of firearms, particularly repeating firearms.

Finally, any Washo man might hunt singly. Often groups of five or six men went hunting together but each did his own stalking.

[796] Whatever the technique, hunting magic was an individual affair which did not require any ceremonial activities.

[824] A single hunter, before the days of firearms, often stalked in the antlers and hide of a deer. Washo were [825] often superstitious about using the real antlers and made artificial sets from mamanita branches. This fear of using real antlers appears related to the treatment which was accorded to the bones of deer. These, once the meat had been completely stripped off, were submerged in a stream to prevent their being eaten by dogs or wild animals. Perhaps the best account of the magic involved in stalking is the following by an aged informant, reputed to have "hunting medicine."

[789] "We never had no poison arrow for bear or deer but had something just as good. We took red paint and mixed it with marrow from a deer leg and rubbed it on the shaft and point of the arrow. Arrowheads for war were little but those for big game like deer or bear were pretty big."

[P. 379, B]

RITUAL IN SUBSISTENCE

224
●789

When I asked my informant the Washo word for this mixture he evaded the question.

> "I don't think they had a word for it. They didn't talk about it, just used it. If you used it you had to carry some medicine to work against it, 'cause if you got a scratch of that mixture and didn't have this other stuff [the counter agent], you was a goner.
>
> "A long time ago one man would hunt. Some of them fellas was superstitious about using real deer horns, so they would make horns of manzanita and then cover up with a deer hide. They'd move along . . . taking a long time, just like a deer. That old buck would try to get to the side away from the wind to smell you, but you kept circling around so he wouldn't smell you. Finally you could get real close, maybe only three, four feet . . . going around making sounds just like a deer. Sometimes them bucks would really believe you and want to fight and then it was dangerous. When you was close you shot that arrow into the deer right behind the shoulder blade. That way when he jumped, the shoulder blade comes back and breaks off the shaft. The man would grab the shaft and suck off the blood. Then he'd make a little fire on a flat stone and when it was hot he'd sweep off the fire and spit that on the stone and it would bubble up and disappear. Then you'd go after the deer and you'd find him laying there with blood bubbling out of his nose just like that blood bubbled on the stone."

[777]
[343]

Other rituals related to hunting dealt with the loss of hunting luck. To regain one's luck in hunting, a sweat lodge was built, consisting of a temporary brush shelter (688-759).

[824]
[777]

To insure luck it was common in the old days to bathe and rub the leaves of a certain mountain plant over one's body. Other Washo carried a plant on their persons while hunting, to insure luck. I was unable to get my informant to give me the Washo name of this plant. Certain other special medicines are reported. One man, it is hinted, has a medicine which he rubs on his gun to insure good aim. Old hunters are said

[522]

to have obtained medicine from the Miwok which would put deer to sleep. Today this medicine is a subject of esoteric humor between my informant and his son-in-law. The latter insists that the bear has a medicine which will put his father-in-law to sleep because he came upon the old man asleep under a tree one day when he should have been hunting. Although the Washo depended on ritual to assist them in hunting, it is clear that they considered a successful hunter the pos-

[787]

sessor of power beyond simple magic. Like curers or dreamers, certain hunters obviously had been blessed by spirits and were able to outthink and outsmart animals and therefore were particularly good hunters. At least some of the Washo who hunt today attempt to give the impression that their success is based on something more than luck or skill.

224
[136]

Antelope (27a-75).—There are no Washo alive today who can remember antelope surrounds. It appears that most of the Washo territory was not inhabited by antelope, lying as it does between the northern and

224 [136] southern ranges of the Nevada herds. However, small herds did range in the eastern portion of Washo country, but the appearance of firearms and livestock eliminated the antelope completely in this area. One informant, himself seventy-five, remembers stories [177] about the hunts, told to him by a very old brother-in-law who remembered the antelope songs. [538]

[533] Another informant, generally a good source of hunting information, admitted that he did not know anything about the subject. He had never hunted antelope, nor had his father or uncles.

[787] The signal to hunt was a dream announcing the [624] presence of antelope to a dreamer, who acted as leader of the hunt. The entire process was considered [791] to be magical by this informant who said:

> "There was really no corral. Mebbe just a few 224 piles of brush. The people just danced around and sang, and that kept them antelope there like they 789 was hypnotized. They could keep them right there all night that way. After they held them all night they'd start to slaughter at sunrise. They'd sing: 'We aren't doing this for meanness or for fun but [533] we want you for fine food,' or something like that. I heard the song once but I never learned it all. I wish I had, now."

[763] This informant was certain that the Washo did not expect a person to die as a result of the exercise of [186] antelope charming. He had heard of other tribes which believed this, and he thought it peculiar (Steward 1941: 218-220). This explanation compares favorably with the culture element distribution lists presented by [114] Stewart, which reported none of the traits usually considered as part of the shaman complex in antelope hunting common among Basin Shoshone and Paiute. (Stewart 1941; Steward 1941.)

224 Rabbits (92-96).—The pursuit of the jack rabbit 185 appears to have been changing in its importance dur- 178 ing the past century. Several informants recall being told in their youth by old men that often only the hides [237] were stripped from rabbits to make blankets, but that most of the meat was discarded because other game was plentiful. However, firearms and agriculture soon put an end to antelope hunting, and the trans-Sierran region, like most of the nation, suffered a steady de- [484] cline in the number of deer. All informants agree that in their own youth trips to California after deer were [136] necessary because there were almost no deer east of the Sierra. All Indians agree that the deer population in Nevada today is far greater than it was in the early years of this century. The decrease in antelope and deer forced a greater dependence on the jack rabbit as a source of food as well as fur. The communal nature of the rabbit hunt may have made possible a gradual transference of ritual traits from the antelope 224 complex to the rabbit hunt.

[171] Traditionally the Washo drove rabbits into nets, a method common in the Basin. Stewart's notes, taken from informants in their seventies in 1936, make no [535] mention of any supernatural aspect of the rabbit drive. Evening dancing during the rabbit drive was denied. 224 There was, however, a special leader who directed 624 the hunt. In later times these men were credited with 787 dreaming power, as this quotation illustrates: "Jack 791 Wallace would dream where the rabbits were and when it was time for hunting he would send out a call." The man mentioned was described as the last of the real

[P. 381, A]

224 [539] I've heard that they cook it and eat it . . . not only here but up north. After they get the rifle they get to killing bears around here but hardly ever hear of dividing up the bear meat."

[825] This last remark appears to be significant as all informants emphasized that Indians shared food equally. Thus a statement made voluntarily that bear meat was not shared suggests different attitudes about bears.

[302] Another informant adds the detail that when the bear left his lair, the companions of the man who entered the den would block the entrance so the bear could not return. The first man to place an arrow in the animal could claim it and get the hide. This informant also added at this point: "It's funny that the fella who went inside was just an ordinary fella [emphasis mine]." He also insisted that after a bear was killed the hunting party painted their faces black. Other informants claimed not to know of this or said such painting was done when a mink was killed but they did not know why.

[539] [848] One traditional story (Dangberg) sheds a bit more light on the bear. In this tale a group of Washo were camped near a band of Paiute who challenged the Washo to fight. Instead of fighting, the Washo drove a bear from its den and killed it and thus defeated the Paiute.

[124] I had all but given up the pursuit of information on the bear, being convinced that my informants either honestly did not know any more (the bear having been relatively rare in this area for a good many years) or were unwilling to discuss something of an extremely sacred nature, when a chance remark suggested at least part of the explanation.

224 554 [764] A pioneer white resident who had lived in Alpine County, California, for ninety years casually mentioned that every Indian man who was buried during his boyhood was wrapped in a bearskin shroud. This, coupled with an earlier mention of "rough" men having bearskins, suggests that the killing of a bear represented

● [789] the ultimate in Washo bravery and the possession of the skin conferred extra powers on the owner. The

[764] rifle made such acquisitions much less hazardous and in the late nineteenth century it had become common for Indians to own a bearskin cloak, which became their most prized possession and was buried with them.

796 825 171 114 [795] [756] Stewart's element lists show no evidence of any formalized bear cult among the Washo. However, Smith's notes, which Stewart used, report a bear shaman who impersonated a bear (2558). Certainly the bear was one of the spirits who could give power to a man destined to become a shaman. Bear shamanism is reported only for the Fish Spring Valley Paiute by Steward and for the Tago and Wada Northern Paiute by Stewart. These three groups constitute the only ones having formalized bear ceremonialism of any sort in the Basin. The bear dance and a note about impersonating bears (Steward 1941, pp. 266, 322) suggest that formalized bear ceremonialism came into the

[177] Basin from the Rocky Mountains via the Ute and Bannock. However, Kroeber reports awe of the bear, special euphemisms for them, and ritualized secrecy about hunting them among the Miwok which seem more closely related to Washo behavior. Bear impersonators among the Battle Mountain Paiute were credited with

825 771 invulnerability in war, which is reminiscent of the use of a bear-hide cloak by Washo "rough men." Although it is not possible to make any conclusive statement about the role of the bear in the supernatural life of

825 771 the Washo, it seems clear that the animal is held in special awe and esteem by modern Indians.

FISHING
(252a-296)

226 ●789 Fishing appears to be far less subject to ritualization among the Washo than was hunting. Here again there may be a correspondence between the amount of ritual and the degree of certainty involved in obtaining the desired food. The Washo area is rated by Rostlund as being one of the higher fish-producing areas in North America. Certainly the many lakes, streams, and rivers were the source of great amounts of fish every year. Indians who could at most be described as only middle-aged, recount the tremendous numbers of fish which swept up the streams from Lake Tahoe during the spawning season. While the numbers may have varied from year to year, the large number of fish plus the intensive fishing methods employed by the Washo almost guarantee a large catch.

However, d'Azevedo reports that Northern Washo [787] describe some degree of ritualism connected with fishing (d'Azevedo personal communication). Dreamers are [535] said to have predicted the day of the spawning run. Dances were held and prayers said, suggesting a rather [782] attenuated first-fish ceremony for some of the Washo (2618). Other Washo report "big times," which included dancing and prayer, during the spring gathering on the lake. However, in the actual catching of fish there was much less ritual.

Some fishermen carried a fishing medicine com- [825] posed of dried larvae of the Ephydra hians (Say), called kutsavi by the Paiute (Heizer 1950) and matsi babaša [439] by the Washo. These larvae were obtained from the Mono Lake Paiute in trade or as gifts. They were con- [262] sidered good food and are still eaten by some Washo. However, in addition they were credited with having great powers to lure fish and were rubbed on harpoons, hooks, and lines. Perhaps this material was considered a fish medicine because these larvae are said to be generated from the scales of a giant fish. This leviathan is reported to have traveled through all the lakes [773] in the Sierran area looking for a lake large enough in which to live. At Mono Lake it scraped some scales into the water before it left to find a permanent home in Lake Tahoe (Steward 1936). Whether the Washo share this story with the Owens Valley Paiute, I do not know, but Mono Lake, because of its saline water and its lack of any fish life, is thought of with some fear and awe. Today I get the impression that some Washo still keep a bit of this material with their fishing gear, although they are apt to rationalize it as a lure rather than real medicine. It should be remembered that hook-and-line or spear fishing accounted for a much smaller percentage of the total annual take than did trapping, damming, netting, or other communal methods which entailed no ritual.

MISCELLANEOUS CONCEPTS ABOUT HUNTING AND FISHING

784 224 227 841 [562] [783] A number of ritual activities cluster around hunting and fishing. Perhaps the most important is the requirement that women, particularly menstruating women, avoid the hunting and fishing equipment. If a woman touched such gear the owner would bathe it and pray

841 [P.382, A]
224

[227] "I'm giving you a bath to wash away the bad luck." (2354-2378).

[784] A further restriction placed on menstruating women
[262] was that they must not eat meat during their periods. To do so meant bad hunting for the man who killed the game.

262 The meat from the neck of a deer and the intesti-
224 nal organs were forbidden to vigorous young people. If a man ate neck meat his aim would be bad (360-368). Neck meat was reserved for children and the old. In actuality it would seem that only the children and the almost decrepit ate such meat. One of my informants who is seventy-five, thus certainly qualifying for old age, has never tasted either neck meat or internal organs. To do so apparently would be an admission of loss of vigour which no Washo oldster wishes to make. Menstruating women today will eat meat purchased from a butcher but refrain from eating venison or other game taken by someone they know, for fear of spoiling his luck. Menstrual taboos also hold today in regard to touching firearms or fishing poles, although at least some Washo women own fishing poles, and in the early part of this century a woman who lives at Carson City was reputed to be a great hunter. In times past, certain women are reported to have made excellent bows but not to have used them.

224 Stewart reports dances to bring deer which none of
535 my informants remembered. However, even in his time
● [789] the dances were said to be "mainly for pleasure," which suggests the sacred nature of such dances has gradual-
[178] ly faded out of the consciousness of most modern Washo, particularly as deer hunting has become entirely an in-
[796] dividual enterprise and is no longer central to Washo subsistance.

GATHERING

222 As stated earlier, there appears to have been much
527 less ritual involved in gathering activities, perhaps be-
[789] cause there was much less chance of failure than in hunting. However, Stewart reports that sometimes
[535] dances were held to make seeds grow (2619-2621). Such gatherings appear to be remembered, if at all, by living Washo only as social occasions.

The fall pine-nut dance was clearly part of the ritu-
[262] al of the pine-nut harvest (2617, 2622). The pine nut
[178] was central to Washo winter survival, and its production was a matter of extreme concern. Even today the pine-nut harvest becomes a paramount interest among all the Washo during the last part of the summer. Speculations as to its size, wishes for rain, and survey trips into the pine-nut hills become common, and according to one informant: "If we have a couple of bad years somebody will say, 'We ought to have a pine-nut dance,' and then we'll have one."

222 The following account of the pine-nut dances of the
527 past was given to me by a man, now almost blind, of
[115] between seventy-five and eighty. His father claimed to be chief of the Washo through an affinal relationship to the famous Captain Jim, and my informant maintains the claim, stoutly denied by all other Washo except his relatives and admitted by them only when they are forced to depend on his hospitality. The account is one of a well-regulated four-day ceremony of the first fruit. However, it will become apparent as other information is presented that it is a highly idealized version. It is valuable, however, because it includes a number of sacred elements of obvious importance.

[P. 383, B]

222 ceremony despite the fear the Washo may have had of her.

527 Since her death in the early 1940's, pine-nut dances
[754] have been less frequent. Only one woman among the Washo is reputed to know all the songs, although I suspect that several others are in possession of this knowledge but refuse to come forth and serve as leaders, in keeping with Washo reluctance to assume responsible roles.

222 After a number of years without a dance, the custom
527 was revived in the early 1950's at Dresslerville. The
178 dances were staged because previous crops had been poor and it was felt a dance would increase the harvest.

These dances, supervised by the woman who knew the songs, were not considered too successful because both Indian dances and white men's dances were conducted. Indian dances were held outside the community house while younger couples danced in the white manner inside. The prayers, bathing, and dreams played
[535] a very minor role, although food was supplied. From the accounts these dances sounded extremely secular with an emphasis on the recreational aspects, particu-
[177] larly dancing. However, the consensus that the ceremonies were not successful because of the introduction of white-style dancing suggests that the Indian dances still retain some of their former sacred character. It was agreed that a dance might be held today or in the future if the crops were poor. Here again the present economic situation of the Washo tends to limit these affairs to weekends. The impossibility of holding four-day dances however, is not considered serious by most Washo. Several informants stoutly denied that there was any requirement that the dance last four days.
[801] They implied that those who insisted on this were simply trying to make it sound more important (note that using the figure four makes something more important). Their accounts report that the dances might last from one or two days to a week during which time games were played, dances held, and the ritual described earlier carried out. However, there is no doubt that the dances were important to the success of the harvest and the well-being of the harvesters. One informant recalls that: "Sometimes them pine nuts was ripe before the dance. If we picked them then [before the dance], we took a bath every day before we started picking but we didn't have to do that after the dance."

222 The following incident illustrates the attitude most
824 conservative Washo have toward the pinyon pine. D'Azevedo (personal communication) accompanied an elderly woman to her pine-nut allotment where she discovered that illegal Christmas-tree cutters had topped a number of trees, which she believed de-
[782] stroyed their ability to bear. Her response was of sorrow rather than anger. She sat under her trees for a long time apologizing to her father, from whom she had inherited the plot, and to the spirits of the trees.

222 There seems to have been little ritual involved in
● 789 other gathering activities, except for the dances to make the seeds grow mentioned in the element lists (2621). This practice must have been occasional and
[182] relatively old, because it is no longer part of the memories of older informants.

[P. 384, A]

MISCELLANEOUS RITUAL

784
302 Although modern informants do not remember taboos dealing with hair combing and scratching during menstruation, they do recall being warned against combing their hair at night. "My father used to say that if we did it we'd marry out of the tribe. Mike (her husband) used to tell the same thing to our girls but they didn't listen and every one of them married out of the tribe."

The dried body of a bat, described as having several different kinds of hair (Lowie 1939, p. 332) was a powerful gambling charm. Professional Indian gamblers, who traveled about the country participating in the hand game, often carried one. Bat power was considered extremely dangerous if one did not know how to use it. "My daughter found a bat in a field one day, but an old Indian said that if she didn't know how to treat it, it would eat up her children." Women especially were afraid of bat-talismans and of living bats. The Washo believe that a bat charm is also a powerful love medi-

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 384, B]

INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY

297 The Washo have been exposed to Christianity from two main sources. Missionary groups have maintained representatives from time to time at one or another of the Washo colonies. A church dominates the appallingly dreary landscape of Dresslerville. Weather and neglect have caused the building to deteriorate. Permanent missionizing efforts apparently have been abandoned. One church group carries on a summer Bible class for children and sewing classes for women. Funerals are generally conducted by a Christian minister, but this appears to be a sop to white opinion rather than the result of any real desire on the part of the Washo to become Christians. At best they seem to have simply incorporated Christian services as another source of power. It is less than surprising that a people whose main religious emphasis seems to have been on curing or subsistence ritual should have found white doctors useful but white ministers a rather mysterious and superfluous bit of white culture.

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 384, B]

[P. 384, B]

MISCELLANEOUS RITUAL

825
789
[832]

cine and that a woman once touched by such a charm is powerless in the hands of its owner. "You touch a woman with that thing and it hypnotizes her. She follow the guy and die if she don't go with him. I don't believe I ever heard of a Washo use one. We'd be too afraid. But them Paiutes and Shoshones use it."

302
796
[881]

Except for the painting of a girl during her puberty dance, painting of the face and body had little part in Washo ritualism, although its social significance may have been important (Lowie 1939, p. 304). However, certain other customs of dress and adornment appear to have had religious significance. Eagle feathers and magpie feathers, as well as a bearskin robe, conferred power. A similar notion may explain the use of the

825
789
778

skin of the agile and wise long-tailed weasel as a binding for hair braids.

763
825

The hooting of an owl or singing of birds at night was considered as a warning of danger or an omen of death.

INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY

797
668
182

The other main source of Christian ideas has been the peyote cult, which includes a roughly Christian version of God and Christ visualized as the father and the brother. The cross, pictures of Christ, and references to Jesus play a role in peyote ceremonialism. Other investigators (d'Azevedo and Merriam 1951; Stewart 1944) have noted a shift toward Indian tradition in the Washo peyote cult, with an attending reduction of Christian ideas. The attitude of one Washo woman sums the question up quite well: "I think them peyote people [she was not a peyotist but had encouraged her son to attend a meeting to cure a back injury] believe more what they doing than the white preacher." Her own religion is summed up in her actions. In addition to sending her son to peyote meetings, she had taken her granddaughter to the shaman and is a regular attendant at the church sewing school. She was also the person who waited until the minister left the church to repeat ancient funeral prayers.

[764]
[782]

and slightly roasted in hot sand. This would form a sort of rouge stick. It was also applied on previously greased skin. 302 386

The yellow (waltsatsini) and black (wčlyauwi) pigments were mixed with fat or grease. Black came from a mineral, powder, or soot. These colors stayed on only a short time, the black an hour or two and the yellow slightly longer.

The white pigment (dipčk) was a chalk mixed with water that would stay about as long as the black. One place this was gathered was in the south central end of Carson Valley. [317]

One design for war was red all over and then 1/2 black and 1/2 white over that. This was thought to make the warrior partially invisible. When the tribe divided for games the west side (tanglelčl tayadi) would paint their faces red, braid their hair, and would not wear a feather. The east side (paolelčl tayadi) used white face paint and wore an eagle feather in their hair. [726] [789] [616] [526]

Houses

Ingalls (1913, 23) wrote "They are more filthy than beasts, and live in habitations which, summer and winter, are nothing more than circular inclosures, about five feet high, without roof, made of artemisia or sage-brush, or branches of cedar thrown around on the circumference of a circle, and which serve only to break the wind. As the temperature in winter must at times be as low as zero, it will be perceived they must suffer considerably. Anything like a covered lodge, or wick-e-up of any sort, to protect them from rain, cold or snow, Captain Simpson did not see among them." 342 [181] [132]

The root for house in Washo is angal. The winter house is galis dangal, the sweat house is tashmangal, and the brush blind and fishing house is ma?angal. The Washo also built a summer or temporary shelter (gadu) and a summer shade (ta?a). [192]

The galis dangal (Plate V,A) literally means "winter house", but it was used the year around or left in the summer and returned to in the winter. If it had been built by a family one winter and the next summer someone of the family died while at Lake Tahoe or elsewhere away from the galis dangal, the family would return sometime that year to the galis dangal to tear it down, leaving everything to rot. A less common alternative was to burn the dwelling. The deceased would be buried wherever he died. The practice was to tear the building down when a member of the family who had lived in it died, even if the death did not occur within the house. In recent years it became the [768] [754] [178]

[P.353, B]

band by sending a messenger around the country carrying a knotted cord (ba?ló·go). The knots represented the number of days remaining until the persons who wished to take part in the fight were to gather at the place of assembly, and the messenger untied one knot every day so as to keep track of the time that remained.

After the warriors had assembled, they engaged in a war dance which lasted four or eight nights. During this period, they manufactured bows and arrows. The arrows were smeared with rattlesnake poison obtained by letting a rattlesnake strike a piece of deer meat. The war dance was a kind of test and training for warfare. A man demonstrated by vigorous dancing that he was strong and fit to go to war; and the dance itself consisted of sudden, jerking movements as if one were dodging arrows. The war dance resembled the pine-nut dance in that features of both dances imitated the coming activities: in the war dance, men danced with bows and arrows and acted as if they were at war; in the pine-nut dance, people carried their implements for gathering and cooking pine nuts. Several taboos were observed during the period of the war dance: (1) men and women were forbidden sexual intercourse; (2) warriors could not eat meat and salt; (3) pregnant women could not throw their shadows on men engaged in dancing and they could not touch the bows and arrows.

Shamans who accompanied the war party served two functions: they called on their supernatural power to keep the enemy and his dogs asleep during the assault; and since they were specialists in herbal medicine, they treated the wounded. The shamans also selected the night for the attack. While the Washo were surrounding the enemy camp, the shamans became very intent on their praying so that none of the enemy should awake. The Washo then entered the camp of the enemy, set fire to their huts, and killed them with clubs and arrows as they emerged. Everyone was killed, even small babies.

When the Washo returned, they had a dance which lasted two or four nights. Lowie reports that men and women danced over the capture of the scalp of the enemy regarded as the best fighter. The scalp was tied to the top of an eight-foot, peeled, willow pole, which everyone except young girls seized and shook. The people finally burned the hair of the scalp and then went home (Lowie, 1939, pp. 329-330). My informants omitted mention of the scalp, but said that an important feature of the dance after the fighting was a ritual bath. This was necessary before the warriors could eat or have intercourse with their wives. The Washo apparently were militarily superior to the Miwok and the Maidu on the west, but they found the more numerous Paiute on their eastern border more formidable opponents. The fact that the Paiute obtained horses earlier than the Washo would also have given the Paiute some superiority in warfare.

SUMMARY

Aboriginal Washo culture may be thought of as a blend of Californian and Great Basin cultural traits Heizer and Elsasser (1953, p. 4) note the following ties with California:

> . . . the conical dwelling made by piling up bark slabs; semi-subterranean assembly house; "community" or bedrock mortar; emphasis on coiled

128 undisturbed Washo culture. Some of the descriptions in this paper refer to recent happenings; these are presented as generally illustrative of aboriginal Washo culture because they are so regarded by our informants.

I

778 776 82 Supernatural power can come from the deer, rattlesnake, water, "water-baby" (a small, white, manlike creature that lives in streams, springs and lakes), bear and eagle. One informant (Hank Pete) also mentioned the weasel, a black spider, lizard, magpie, storm and any kind of snake. Another informant (Henry Rupert) mentioned blood. Rattlesnake, water-baby and eagle are considered particularly powerful. Power is cumulative: several relatively weak powers can be combined to overcome a power stronger than any of them alone. The Washo call both the sources of power and the power itself wegeléyu, and the term also denotes the implements used by a shaman in the curing ceremony.

When listing the sources of supernatural power, the Washo think in terms of the kinds of power that can be controlled by shamans. All of the sources of supernatural power listed above can bestow the ability to control their powers. However, power is not confined to these sources; it is probably a feature of many of the plants and animals the Washo depended upon for [262] food. This opinion is based on the reported consequences for breaking the rules regarding the handling of native food. The person who breaks the rules becomes ill, apparently because of the power inherent in the offended food. For example, mistreatment of the pinenuts at the time of the annual pinenut dance can result in illness caused by the intrusion of a pinenut into the person.

778 [787] Supernatural power becomes attached to particular men and women. The individual has no control over this. As the Washo say, "The wegeléyu picks the man." Power can neither be bought, inherited, nor acquired from another person, but comes unsolicited in dreams. When this happens, a person either learns to use the power and becomes a shaman or else he hires a shaman to rid him of the power, for to have power and no knowledge of its control results in illness. While wegeléyu comes to only a few, it seems [888] that all people have a kind of low intensity power which is not wegeléyu. This kind of power increases in strength with age so that old people are treated with caution. Wegeléyu, however, does not increase in strength with age, but older people are thought to be more likely to acquire wegeléyu than younger ones.

778 787 821 Some of the powers confer special abilities. A man with deer (or fawn) wegeléyu can control the weather. Henry Rupert, the only living Washo

shaman, said that he called up the rain twice. He no longer calls up the rain, for he now eats deer meat. A shaman cannot eat the source of his power and then pray to it; if he does, he will become ill. A person with rattlesnake or blood wegeléyu is often a sorcerer who uses his power to cause sickness and to kill. But a man with rattlesnake power can also cure, and those with other kinds of power can kill. People with special powers behave in a familiar fashion with their wegeléyus or imitate them. People with power from the water-baby walk into springs and can stay under water for long periods; those who have rattlesnake wegeléyu can handle rattlesnakes safely; and men with power from the bear sometimes behave like bears.

The dreams that bring power to men and women are not sought by torture, fasting, or any other method. Many people desire these dreams, but nothing can be done to induce one. Henry Rupert described the dream by which he obtained power as follows: He dreamed he saw a buck that was looking at him from the west. The deer said, "Don't kill my baby any more." Since then, said Rupert, he didn't kill lizards or snakes without reason. When he awoke, his nose was bleeding and it was raining. The rain, the nosebleed, and the talking deer were the unusual features of this dream and its aftermath; from them, Rupert knew he had had an extraordinary experience. From the rain, he knew his wegeléyu was water. From the time of his first dream, Rupert has continued to have unusual dreams. He dreamed about future events, and in a day or two most of them happened. Rupert hears songs in dreams that were sung long ago by the bird, bear and loon. In his curing rites, he sings songs learned in dreams.

Rupert reports a dream related by another shaman who dreamed that he saw sagebrush shaking, but that no wind blew. Then two streams appeared, one of water and one of blood. A voice asked him which is good, and he replied that water is good. Then the sagebrush laughed. By this answer, the man had chosen to use his power to cure rather than kill.

When power comes, the individual who receives it must either get rid of it or learn to use it. Rupert apparently tried both procedures. Once he fell sick and hired a shaman to cure him. The shaman told him that the power to foretell the future was dangerous and that he would remove it. He sucked the power, a piece of bone, from Rupert's forehead. The bone, according to Rupert, was from a young male Hindu whose skeleton was stored at the Indian school at Carson City. Rupert used to play with the skeleton and says that at this time the Hindu "got on" him. Rupert has an intellectual bent and has told us he reads the National Geographic Magazine and studies psychology. This may account for the Hindu as a source of wegeléyu. After the shaman had removed the bone, Rupert lost part but not all of the power he had received from the Hindu. Apparently he lost the power to foretell the future which he had received from the Hindu, but the Hindu continued to help him in his curing.

When a ghost is the cause of the disease, the shaman has a vision in which he identifies the ghost and the property upon which it had traveled. The shaman then advises the patient to get rid of this property; or, if the patient wants to keep it, he makes an additional payment to the shaman who then gives instructions that, if followed, permit him to retain the property without getting sick. Rupert usually instructs the patient to give water to the property. Sometimes the ghost gives the patient orders. When the shaman discovers this, he advises the patient to follow the orders of the ghost. Rupert relates how one ghost told her niece to bathe in a hot spring. The niece failed to do so and became ill. Rupert treated another case in which a ghost traveled on a winnowing basket and some eagle feathers and made a granddaughter ill. Rupert told the girl to give water to these things. She did and recovered.

Two causes of disease affect only shamans. One is illness resulting from power that has come to an individual who cannot control it. Such a person either learns to control the power or else has a shaman cure him by sucking out the power during a regular curing ceremony. The source of the second illness is the loss or destruction of the shaman's curing implements. If they are lost, another shaman may be able to locate them by having a vision in the course of a curing ceremony. If the implements are permanently lost, new implements may apparently be substituted. This conclusion is based on a single case in which Rupert claims to have cured a sick woman by informing her that two small children had lost her implements and that she must replace them. The destruction of a shaman's implements results in his death, according to our informants.

Warfare was a second culture pattern in which supernatural power played a prominent part. Shamans accompanied all war parties and served two functions: since they were often specialists in herbal medicine, they treated the wounded, and they called upon their supernatural powers to keep the enemy and his dogs asleep during the assault. The Washo attacked at night, hoping to surprise the enemy, and the shaman selected the night.

Shamans who had the power to control the weather sometimes aided in warfare. A story widely known among the Washo tells of a battle with the neighboring Maidu near Honey Lake in California. A leader gathered a band of warriors and two powerful shamans who possessed storm wegeléyu. The shamans summoned a north wind mixed with hail and the enemy froze to death. Lowie reports a similar version of this story (1939, 321).

Before a war party set out contests between shamans were held because the warriors wanted the shamans with the strongest powers to accompany them. Hank Pete says that the shamans filled their pipes and began to think about each other. They then exchanged pipes and began to smoke. After a

721
754
756 few puffs the weaker shaman would start to choke and would fall unconscious, perhaps with blood running from his nose. After a time the stronger shaman would call the weaker one's name and revive him; or, if this failed, the stron-
721 ger one would sing the weaker shaman's wegeléyu song and shake his rattle
714 over him. If, after three repetitions of the song, the weaker shaman was still
75 unconscious, the stronger would blow water from his mouth onto the other's forehead. This apparently was always effective. Although Pete did not explicitly say so, the mechanism involved in this kind of shamanistic contest may involve the loss and return of the soul. The unconscious state and the bleeding nose are similar to the symptoms of the boy in the Welukúshkush story; the two curing ceremonies have a common element in the calling of the unconscious person's name. Paralysis or unconsciousness and a bleeding nose are reported by Lowie in cases that probably involve soul loss (1939, 322-3).

756 Contests among shamans were held regularly and not always as part
789 of the war pattern. Possibly they were a means by which shamans publicized their powers. Rupert reports that shamans were able to walk on hot coals and climb steep cliffs where there were no handholds. Rupert says a friend of his
[754] saw a shaman dance in fire and then vanish. According to Rupert, shamans
[755] also competed by magically shooting objects into one another. If a shaman failed to remove an object shot into him by another, it was understood that he was the weaker of the two. The stronger shaman would then remove the object, for contests among shamans were never a killing matter.

626 Both the threat of sorcery and the fear of an accusation of sorcery
754 were important patterns of social control among the Washo. These patterns usually operated among nonrelatives. Anyone could hire a sorcerer to cast a spell on an enemy; therefore, an individual would try to avoid trouble with others, even with those who were not particularly formidable, for anyone
626 could enlist aid. The activities of sorcerers were held in check because sor-
683 cerers were sometimes killed by angry relatives of the victim. If a sorcerer
754 became particularly troublesome, the Washo might reach a kind of general agreement that he should be killed. According to Pete, even the relatives of the sorcerer might agree that this was necessary. The killing was some-
[775] times by stoning and sometimes by other methods. The people who killed a sorcerer were not in danger from his ghost because ghosts bother only relatives. Rupert says he never heard of the ghost of a murdered man returning to trouble the murderer. Lowie's discussion of the measures taken to control sorcery (1939, 319-20) agrees with the statements of our informants.

754 Witches as well as sorcerers exist among the Washo. A sorcerer has
778 active control over his wegeléyu, whereas a witch is an old person whose gen-
888 eralized power (not wegeléyu) has become fairly strong with age. Sorcerers

765

Mourning took place around the grave. Both male and female relatives cut their hair short and buried the hair clippings. Ashes were smeared on the mourners' heads. All mourners would abstain from washing until the [515] mourning was over and then would take a bath. The people cried, wailed, and spoke to the deceased saying "You are dead now. I'll never see you again. My wife [or other appropriate term of address], I don't want to see you any more. We can't talk like we used to. Don't make any noise outside our house. You live under the ground. We don't want to see you any more."

[775]

It is reported that if you did not appear sorry the spirit would come and take you or another relative away with him. The mourning ceremony might last up to four days. After that most of the people attending would wash and be finished. But the wife or husband of the deceased is reported to have remained in mourning for a considerably longer time, perhaps a year or more. [551] There was a permanent taboo against speaking the name of the deceased in front of the deceased's close relatives.

765
824
789

Hank Pete said that one way to get a deceased person out of your mind and to stop hearing his voice was to hang a pendant of manzanita berries from the lobe of the ear. The berries were tied with sinew through a hole made in the lobe.

764

Susie Dick told Dangberg (1919, 5-6) of the following funeral.

"Susie's niece died Thursday, August 7th. On Friday Susie went to the funeral. . . . This dead woman's grandfather was a doctor. He kept trying to give her a dream, but she would not believe it and died as a result.

[787]
[761]

"Her funeral will be conducted in this way. The people will all gather about the corpse. The relatives will wail. Those of the spectators who do not join in this will be forced to do so by the relatives.

764
775

"A doctor will address them and when they grow tired standing he will permit them to sit down. Everyone present will go touch the corpse and repeat in so doing a short exhortation to the spirit: 'Go away,' 'Do not bother us,' etc. At this time each person will lay a handkerchief, a piece of money, etc., upon the corpse an an offering to the spirit to make it content to stay away. Finally the people will take the corpse to the burial ground and bury it. Susie said, 'There is such a ground near Woodfords. One can hear the dead Indians singing and speaking there.'

[782]

the hunter or more particularly to the hunter's medicine. Moreover, musĕge is also applied to men who displayed aggressive power as hunters, warriors or in modern times, men who are bad-tempered. Finally, musĕge is the common Washo term used in reference to the most powerful and dangerous and inexplicable of animals, the white man. By extension the attitude appears to cover also the white man's livestock -- large, often dangerous animals that destroy wild plant foods, and for whose control are required new (and difficult to acquire) skills. The Indian's fear of domestic animals when he was first confronted with horses and cattle is clear from Cortez's invasion of the 16th century to the Blackfeet in the 18th and 19th centuries (Ewers, 1955), and the Pit River tribes of the 1860's and 70's, (de Angulo, 1950). If we recall that Washo enmity toward white men -- the commercial sheep grazers who lease the pinenut allotment lands, for instance -- is apt to be couched in terms of hostility toward the sheep rather than the sheep herder, we see yet another extension of this admittedly vague but nonetheless real identification of animals and men. In short, the white man and his animals appear never to have been clearly distinguished from one another. Moreover the ritual or magical skills of aboriginal Washo life, which enabled the Washo to deal with the native fauna, were of no use in dealing with domestic livestock. One cannot view a sheep or cow or horse as semisacred and at the same time carry out the tasks necessary to the proper conduct of husbandry. At this point the example of Hindu India, where the cow is considered so sacred that the millions of bovines on the subcontinent cannot contribute their full potential to the welfare of human society, may help illustrate the point I am attempting to make about the Washo. Essentially what has happened in the Washo case is that the Washo have not succeeded in making a clear distinction between domestic animals and wild animals, and therefore, have not been able to adjust their own behavior in terms of domestic-wild categories. This failure to draw these distinctions has made it difficult for the Washo to undertake any real husbandry activities.

However, in the final paragraphs of this paper, it might be well to see exactly what the Washo have or have not rejected. Clearly the Washo have not rejected or failed to incorporate domestic livestock. The Washo language borrowed or developed words for all the more common domestic animals. The Washo willingly eats beef, veal, pork, bacon or ham, although he tends to reject mutton and lamb. There are within Washo culture clear-cut patterns of behavior that direct actions concerning domestic animals. Moreover, in the recent past many Washo developed the skill necessary to ride and drive horses, although this skill was soon lost with the invention of the automobile. What the Washo failed to develop were the attitudes and skills necessary for animal husbandry as distinguished from "domestication" or "domestic animals."

	Ts	K1	K2	Kn	To	Te	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	K1	AR
2529. Doctor sprinkles water on patient	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2530. Blows water from mouth	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
2531. Doctor presses ashes on patient	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
2532. Doctor lays hands on patient	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2533. Doctor touches patient with stick	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–
2533a. Doctor paints patient	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2534. Doctor touches patient with fire drill	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2534a. With eagle feathers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2535. Doctor handles fire	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–
2536. Places hands in fire	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–
2537. Picks up fire	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–
2538. Stands in fire	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–
2539. Puts coals in mouth	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–
2540. Sleight-of-hand	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–
2541. Doctor recovers lost soul	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+	–
2542. Doctor's soul leaves body	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2544. Doctor exhibits and restores soul	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
Special Powers of Shaman														
2545. Rattlesnake-bite-curing power	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+	+
2546. Power from dream of rattlesnake	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	•	+	+	+	+	–	–
2547. Dream of buzzard	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2548. Power to handle snakes	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2549. Curing by sucking	+	+	+	+	•	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
2549a. By tying with horsehair	•	+	+	+	•	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
2550. By sucking out snake	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	–	+	–	–
2551. Wound-curing power	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	•	+	+	+	+	•
2552. Power from dream of closing hole	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
2553. Weather-control power, special dream	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	•	+	•
2553a. Jack Wilson only weather-control shaman	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	•	–	–	–	+	–	–
2554. Power to make rain	+	+	+	+	+	•	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
2555. Make rain stop	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+
2556. Make wind to remove snow	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2557. Childbirth shaman: male	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+
2557a. Female	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
2558. Bear shaman: impersonates bear	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	–	–	+	+	–	–
2559. Transforms self into bear	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
2560. Power of rapid travel	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
2561. Invulnerable	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
2562. Poisoners distinct from doctors	–	•	–	+	+	+	+	•	+	–	+	+	+	+
2562a. Poisoners called stukapuharai	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
2563. Power from coyote	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–
2564. Power from various animals	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
2566. Power to foretell future	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
Miscellaneous														
2567. Shaman may decline case	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2568. Killed for declining	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•
2569. Unsuccessful shaman returns fee	+	+	•	+	+	+	•	+	+	•	+	+	+	–
2570a. New doctor assists old ones	•	+	+	+	–	–	+	•	+	–	–	–	–	+
2571. New doctor demonstrates power	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
2572. By free doctoring	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+
2572a. By free doctoring 3 times or more	•	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+
2574. Prayers to personal power (guardian spirit) (ijumamima)	+	•	–	+	•	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2575. To nature	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
2576. To sun	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
2577. Offerings to "nature"	–	–	–	–	•	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	+
2578. To ghost (tsaavm)	–	•	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

[p. 414]

Washo, NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	Kl	Ku	To	To	Pa	Ma	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE	
2579. To spirit (sunupo)	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	NWA 776 782
2580. To night	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2581. Offerings of: food	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	
2581a. At spring dance	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	
2582. Game	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	
2583. Seeds	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	
2584. Tobacco	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	
2585. Shell beads	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	
2586. Offerings: at meals	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	
2589. When hunting	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
2590. When 1st seeds gathered	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Guardian Spirits															NWA 787
2591. Source: childhood dreams	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
2592. Adult dreams	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2593. Various powers received from spirits	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
Nonshamanistic Curing															NWA 757
2594. Special herb doctors	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2595. Blood-letting	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
2596. Sweating	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	
Destiny of Soul															
2597. Spirit goes above, to sky	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
2598. Spirit travels south and up	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
2599. Spirit goes along Milky Way (kusipo)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	
Ghosts or Souls (tsaavu or mugua)															NW 775 763
2600. Ghost leaves body: at death	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	
2601. Shortly before death	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	
2602. Ghost visible: to anyone	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	
2602a. To doctor only	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	
2603. Ghost audible	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	
2604. Ghost feared	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
2605. Ghost in whirlwind (pitsumavu)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
2606. Dreaming of dead is ill omen	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	N NWA 787
2607. Cold bath to nullify	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	
2608. Prayer to nullify	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	
2609. Smoke blown to nullify	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	
2609a. Speculorite (yadupi) sprinkled to nullify	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	
"Wuipo" (possibly Jimsonweed)															N 276
2613. Properties and name known	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	
DANCES															
2614. Circle Dance (mugava)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	NWA 535
2615. Brush corral	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2616. Performances: at fall rabbit hunt	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2617. At fall pinon-nut harvest	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	
2618. In spring	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	
2619. In summer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	
2620. Purpose: mainly pleasure	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	NW [785]
2621. To make seeds grow	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	

[p. 415]

NWA 824 776 789

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

		To	Kl	K2	Ku	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AR
	Whirlwind (pitcumava)														
	2728. Whirlwind is spirit or ghost	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2729. People hit whirlwind with stick	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2730. People throw water on whirlwind	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2730a. People throw dirt on whirlwind	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
NWA 787	**Omens**														
	2731. Twitching back muscle: someone will die	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-
	2732. You will carry a deer	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
	2732a. You will carry blanket because cold	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
	2731a. Twitching eye muscle: bad luck	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
	2733. Twitching leg muscle: someone coming	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2734. Sneezing: someone talking about you	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2735. Opposite sex talking of you	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2736. Omens of death: owl call	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2737. Magpie call	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
	2738. Crow call	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
	2739. Dove call	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
	2740. Meadowlark call	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
	2740a. Coyote call	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
NWA 784	**Various** (See also 2295a-2301)														
	2741. Pointing at rainbow: arm atrophies	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-
	2741a. Finger rots	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
	2741b. Hand deforms	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
N 753	2742. Toothache caused by: worm	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
	2743. Gopher	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
	Petroglyphs														
NW 172	2744. Petroglyphs occur in area of band	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-
	2745. Informants had only heard of them	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
	2747. Petroglyphs made by: Coyote	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-
	2748. "Devil"	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2750. "Old-time" (non-Paiute) Indians	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-

[p. 418]